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the disease, they will all agree in laboring to mitigate its violence. If not operated on by higher motives, they should all bear in mind the immunity of those, who have in other places faithfully watched over the dying, and recollect that the moral courage, which prompts to this, is one of the greatest safeguards against the disease. They should devote themselves without fear to aid and comfort them in the hour of peril ; confident, that if their turn come next, it can never come at a better period than when they are engaged with zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duty.

ART. VII.—*American Colonization Society.*

1. *Fifteenth Report of the American Colonization Society.* Washington. 1832.
2. *Letters on the Colonization Society ; with a View of its Probable Results ; addressed to the Hon. C. F. MERCER.* By M. CAREY. 1832.

The two pamphlets, of which the titles are given above, will be found to contain a mass of valuable information respecting subjects of great interest to the whole American people, and of immediate importance to more classes than one. Mr. Carey has confined himself almost exclusively to facts. One letter he devotes to the origin of the Society ; a second to the state of our colored population ; others to the Slave-Trade, the manumission of slaves in this country, the declarations of Legislatures in favor of the Society, and the situation, character, and prospects of the Colony they have founded on the African Coast. It is not our intention to enter at present into the discussion of more than one or two of these subjects at much length ; nor need we undertake any thing like a review of either the Report or the Letters. We have named them rather for the purpose of acknowledging our obligations, and of commending them to the attention of all, who are not yet familiar with their contents.

It has been stated, and is perhaps generally understood, that the operations which gave existence to the American Colonization Society are to be mainly attributed to the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey. Such, however, does not appear to

be the precise truth. That excellent man unquestionably deserved, as he received, great praise for the enlightened energy with which he engaged in this cause. But it was a cause before he engaged in it. Others participated with him in the prosecution of the scheme, up to the formation of the Society in 1817; but the scheme itself had been agitated more than thirty years previous to that date.

The earliest evidence we have of Mr. Finley's views upon the subject of colonization, is contained in a letter which he addressed to a citizen of New York, about the commencement of the year 1815.

'The longer I live,' says the writer, 'to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labor to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their color, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly ameliorated, while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a Colony on some part of the Coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?*'

These, it must be admitted, are very nearly the principles of the Colonization Society. With Mr. Finley, it is not improbable that they might have been original; and he speaks of 'devising' a plan, as if they were so. But the Legislature of the State of Virginia had preceded him at an interval of about fifteen years. That body, not long before the commencement of the present century, had become so much interested in the project of colonization, as to instruct Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, to enter into a correspondence with President Jefferson upon the means of procuring an asylum for the free blacks, beyond the limits of the United States.* Mr. Jefferson from this time took an active part in the discussion. He began with proposing the British establishment at Sierra Leone, (referred to in the letter of Mr. Finley,) to which a private

* A project was discussed by this Legislature as early as 1777, of which the general object was the same, but it had no important results.

company had already transported a considerable number of negroes.

As we shall not unfrequently have occasion to mention this Colony in the course of the following pages, it may be well to give a brief account of its origin and progress. In consequence of the memorable decision of the English Judiciary in the case of Somerset, that slavery could not exist upon the soil of England, several hundred blacks, unaccustomed to the profitable employments of a great city, were thrown upon their own resources in the streets of London. The celebrated Granville Sharp having taken a peculiarly prominent part in the whole affair of the slave question, they flocked to him as their patron; and he, after much reflection, determined to colonize them in Africa. The Government, anxious to remove a class of people which it regarded at best as worthless, finally assumed the whole expense of the expedition. Under such auspices, four hundred negroes and sixty Europeans, supplied with provisions for six or eight months, sailed on the 8th of April, 1787. The result was unfortunate and even discouraging. The crowded condition of the transports, the unfavorable season at which they arrived on the coast, and the intemperance and imprudence of the emigrants, brought on a mortality which reduced their numbers nearly one half during the first year. Others deserted soon after landing, until forty individuals only remained. In 1788, Mr. Sharp sent out thirty-nine more; and then a number of the deserters returned, and the settlement gradually gained strength. But, during the next year, a controversy with a neighboring native chief ended in wholly dispersing the Colony; and some time elapsed before the remnants could be again collected. A Charter of Incorporation was obtained in 1791. Not long afterwards, about twelve hundred new emigrants were introduced from Nova Scotia, being originally refugees from *this* country, who had placed themselves under British protection. Still, affairs were very badly managed. One tenth of the Nova-Scotians, and half of the Europeans died during one season, as much from want of provisions as any other cause. Two years afterwards, a store-ship belonging to the Company, which had been made the receptacle for African produce, was lost by fire, with a cargo valued at fifteen thousand pounds. Then, insurrections arose among the blacks. Worst of all, in 1794, a large French squadron, wholly without provocation,

attacked the settlement, and although the colors were immediately struck, proceeded to an indiscriminate pillage. The books of the Company were scattered and defaced; the printing-presses and scientific apparatus of every description broken in pieces; the Accountant's office demolished; and the buildings generally consigned to the flames. The pecuniary loss was more than fifty thousand pounds. But the Directors, instead of being disheartened by these disasters, nerved themselves to more resolute efforts than before. They were liberally supported by the Government, and the united labors of both were so effectual, that in the year 1798, Freetown, the principal village in the Colony, was found to contain three hundred houses, sufficiently fortified, and accommodating twelve hundred inhabitants.

Two years afterwards, a large number of the worst part of the settlers, chiefly the Nova-Scotians, rebelled against the Colonial Government. The Governor called in the assistance of the neighboring African tribes, and matters were on the eve of a battle, when a transport arrived in the harbor, bringing five hundred and fifty Maroons* from Jamaica. Lots of land were given to these men; they proved regular and industrious; and the insurgents laid down their arms. Wars next ensued with the natives, which were not finally concluded until 1807. On the first of January, 1808, all the rights and possessions of the company were surrendered to the British crown, and in this situation they have ever since remained. Of the results effected by the establishment in reference to the slave-trade on the coast, and the civilization of the interior tribes, as also of its political and commercial value to the English Government and people, we may perhaps have occasion to speak hereafter. The population in 1823, was eighteen thousand two thirds of this number being liberated Africans. In 1828, the latter class had increased to more than fifteen thousand, exclusive of nearly one third as many more who were resident at the timber factories and other places. Two thousand four hundred and fifty-eight liberated captives were added to the colony, during the year 1827 alone.

* A name given to a large number of negroes, originally slaves in Jamaica, who availed themselves of a revolution in that island, to take refuge among the mountains of the interior, and have never since been subdued. See *History of Jamaica*, Lond. 1774. The emigrants mentioned above are now doing well, and have increased in number.

Such was and is the character of the establishment, to which the attention of President Jefferson was first directed by the application of the Executive of Virginia. His suggestion being approved by the Assembly of 1801, he instructed Mr. King, then our Minister in London, to attempt a negotiation with the Company, for the purpose of inducing them to open their settlement to emigration from the United States. But the Company were at this time in the midst of their troubles ; and would not hear of receiving a reinforcement of settlers of any description, least of all from the same quarter with the Nova-Scotian refugees. An effort was then made to obtain, from the Government of Portugal, a location within their South American territory ; which also proved abortive. The earnestness with which the Legislature prosecuted their design, may be inferred from the fact, that the Executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1806. But all these, it should be observed, were private proceedings ; and the injunction of secrecy has not been removed, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made by the same body. This was in December, 1816. The resolution then adopted is especially deserving of notice, as illustrating the plan of the Society soon afterwards organized by the advocates of similar principles.

‘Whereas,’ says the Preamble, ‘the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought *to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as had been or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth*, but have hitherto found all their efforts for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success ; they now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the Government of the United States in abolishing the African slave-trade (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to terminate), to renew this effort, and do therefore *Resolve* ;

‘That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place not within any of the United States or under the territorial Government of the United States, to serve as

an asylum for such persons of color as are now free and may desire the same, and for those also who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States, in the attainment of that one object; *provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory upon this Commonwealth, until ratified by the Legislature.'

This declaration of the sentiments of the Virginia Legislature (which passed with but nine dissenting voices in the House of Delegates, and but one in the Senate), in itself furnishes sufficient corroboration of the remark we have made in regard to Mr. Finley. The interest which Mr. Jefferson had long taken in the project, appears from sources still more satisfactory than have yet been alluded to. In a letter addressed to Mr. Lynd, under date of January 21, 1811, he uses the following language.

'Sir,—You have asked my opinion on *the proposition of Ann Mifflin*, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment at which the people of color of these States might from time to time be colonized, under the auspices of different Governments. *Having long ago made up my mind on this subject*, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population,—most advantageous for themselves as well as us.'

What Mr. Jefferson intended to convey by the phrase *auspices of different Governments*,—which is the only point of even ostensible difference between the principles here declared, and those upon which the Colonization Society was originally founded and has uniformly acted,—may be best understood from a succeeding paragraph of the same communication. The affair of the French squadron, already mentioned in our sketch of the Sierra Leone settlement, together with the revolutionary state of France itself at the period when this letter was written, sufficiently account for the 'particular' apprehension here expressed in reference to that Government.

'You inquired farther, whether I would use my endeavors to procure such an establishment, secure against the violence of other powers, and particularly against the French. Certainly, I

shall be willing to do any thing I can, to give it effect and safety. But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavors with individuals; whereas the national Government can address itself at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations, to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents. *Indeed nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*'

This, too, was a private communication, made known to the public only within a few years. But, to go back a step farther in our series of authorities, an able article may be found in the American Museum, dated Richmond, March 6th, 1790, and said to have been written by Ferdinando Fairfax.* The view there taken of the whole subject-matter connected with emancipation and colonization, is in the highest degree luminous and cogent. The reasoning accords as nearly as possible with that of Jefferson, Finley, and the most enlightened modern advocates of the scheme in question. The conclusion is in the following terms.

'It is therefore proposed, *that a colony should be settled, under the auspices and protection of Congress, by the negroes now within the United States, and be composed of those who are already, as well as those who at any time hereafter may become, liberated by the voluntary consent of their owners; since there are many who would willingly emancipate, &c.*

He afterwards proposes, 'that this colony should be *in Africa*, their native climate, as being most suitable for the purposes intended;' and many other suggestions are offered, as being pertinent, though subordinate, to the main project.

But the credit of originality does not belong to Mr. Fairfax himself, although his plan was more thoroughly matured than any other we have met with previously to Mr. Finley's. In the Memoirs of Granville Sharp (published several years since in England, and written by Mr. Prince Hoare, one of the honorary governors of the African Institution), is preserved a letter addressed to that gentleman in January, 1789, by the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, an eminent minister of Newport, Rhode Island. The object was to ascertain the situation of the colony

* See African Repository, Vol. II. p. 198.

at Sierra Leone, and especially ‘whether the blacks of New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labor, either on lands or as mechanics, and are thereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement better than any others that can be found,’ *might have any part of the colonial lands to settle on*, and upon what terms. He had come to this point, he writes, in consequence of long observation of the state of the free blacks in this country. Many of them were already desirous, he adds, ‘of removing to Africa, to settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom they were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans; at the same time cultivating their land, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising tobacco, coffee, cotton, indigo, &c. for exportation as well as their own use.’ We cite thus much of this document, as singularly correspondent in its reasoning and anticipation to what has been subsequently said and done. One more inventor only remains to be brought forward, on the information of Brissot and other writers of the same period.

‘In the year 1787,’ says Brissot, ‘Dr. Thornton* proposed the subject of *the colonization of the people of color on the coast of Africa* to the people of Boston, and of Providence (Rhode Island).’

He adds, that many of that class consented to accompany the Doctor in an expedition pursuant to this plan; but that nothing was done, because the community generally preferred colonization in this country, and refused to furnish funds for that of any other description. Elsewhere we are informed by the same writer,—and he seems to have obtained his information from good authority,—that the project was ‘*first imagined*’ by that great apostle of philanthropy, Dr. Fothergill, well known as one of the intimate joint-laborers with Mr. Sharp; ‘a project *executed*,’ he concludes, ‘by the Society at London, or rather by the beneficent Granville Sharp,—a project for

* Subsequently a citizen of Washington, D. C., and an ardently devoted and active friend of the Colonization Society. He was educated on the island of Antigua, one of the West Indian possessions of the French, where his parents owned a plantation.

restoring the negroes to their country, to establish them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, &c., and to open a commerce with Europe.'

Such, so far as we have the means of tracing it, is the history of the idea of African colonization. Of the immediate origin of the American Colonization Society, the character and history of which now claim our attention, the following is the most complete account which has come to our notice. Early in 1816, Mr. Finley, who resided at Basking Ridge, in New Jersey, began to disclose sentiments relating to the interests of the free blacks, similar to those which have already been remarked upon as forming a part of his letter. About the same time, an accidental disclosure was first made of the general fact, that measures, such as we have mentioned above, had been taken by the Legislature of Virginia at various periods, and that certain distinguished men had been earnestly engaged in the same cause. This circumstance gave a new impulse to the energies of all who had interested themselves in the subject. A concurrent movement towards the adoption of some particular plan of operations was distinctly concerted in March, at Georgetown, D. C. between a resident of that place, and several citizens of the two neighboring States. This was without the knowledge or participation of any individual whatever, living north of Maryland. But in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn, the discussion became more general, and excited considerable interest in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Princeton, and other principal places in that section of the country. Still Mr. Finley seems rather to have led public opinion, for while others were only talking and thinking, he was devoting himself wholly to the cause. After having reflected deliberately on the proper place, time, and manner of commencing the long contemplated movement,—and the propriety of doing *something* had scarcely been disputed at all,—he resolved to test the popularity, and in some degree the practicability of his own plan, by introducing the subject to public notice at Washington. He arrived at that city about the first of December, 1816, and began to make arrangements for a meeting of the citizens. Many ridiculed, and some opposed him; but meekly contenting himself with the observation, 'I know this scheme is from God,' he persevered and prevailed. The Society was organized on the first of January, 1817, at a meeting of which Mr. Clay was chairman Judge

Washington was elected President, and continued to occupy that station until his death, when he was succeeded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the present incumbent. At this time there are twenty-four Vice Presidents, of whom, (excluding General Lafayette,) we have taken the pains to ascertain that three belong to New England, as many to Maryland, one to New York and Georgia each, two to Kentucky and New Jersey each, four to Virginia, and the residue to various other sections.

The second article of the original constitution is expressed thus.

‘ The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in this country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.’

As the Society has uniformly acted in pursuance of these clearly declared principles, to the exclusion of all others, it is unnecessary to give additional evidence of the perfectly simple object which they have in view, or of the equally plain means by which they propose to accomplish it, so far as such means may enable them.

As regards the place chosen for the settlement of a Colony, different opinions have been advanced among the advocates of colonization, as well as elsewhere, and both before and since the formation of the Society. Those who have thought most upon the subject, however, seem to have decided almost universally in favor of the African Coast. The English philanthropists and the English Government have never discussed any other proposal, having the same object in view. Such were Dr. Fothergill’s and Dr. Thornton’s plans, the scheme of Mr. Fairfax, the earliest proposition of Mr. Jefferson, and the declared wish of the Legislature and Executive of Virginia. It must be obvious indeed to the most careless reflection, that there are positive and strong objections to most other proposed locations, which do not apply to this ; and, at the same time, as urgent considerations in favor of this, which do not apply to them.

Nothing needs be said to enforce the reasonableness of the

provisions made in the Virginia Resolutions, that the territory which might be procured should, at all events, be without the limits of the United States and the territorial Governments. A domestic Colony,—unless a very remote one, and then it would be substantially foreign,—would be impracticable, on account of the number and disposition of those who must be parties to such an arrangement. If it were not so, it would still be of no benefit either to the whites or the blacks. So far as the welfare of the latter class is to be promoted, which the Society holds up as its grand aim, it would be but a change of place without a change of circumstances ; as to the former, it would be but shifting the burden from one shoulder to the other.

The only project of a settlement within our own territory, which has appeared sufficiently feasible to be discussed, was laid before the public under the auspices of Mr. Tucker, a Senator from Virginia, in 1825. In March of that year, he offered a Resolution to the National Senate, the object of which was to ascertain, through the War Department, the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title to a portion of the country lying *west of the Rocky Mountains*, ‘that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of color, the best known routes across the said mountains, and the probable cost of a road and military posts, necessary to a safe communication with such colony.’ The little reflection which has been given to this scheme having caused it to be altogether abandoned, it is unnecessary to make comment upon it. Objections equally conclusive, though of a different character, apply to every proposal which has been or can be made, of founding a settlement on territory belonging to foreign powers, but adjacent to our own. Absolute dependence upon such powers, in war and in peace, and the necessity of being involved in their relations to other powers, would be among the first and worst results, affecting the interest of the colony itself.

The plan of colonization in Canada is the only one of this class, which has assumed character enough to make it a subject of argument. The attention of some of the free blacks was first turned towards this quarter, in consequence of measures adopted a few years since by the State of Ohio, for the exclusion of that class from its territory. The laws which were passed for this purpose took effect in June, 1829 ; and the colony established in consequence, commenced its operations early in the ensuing

season. It consisted originally of about two hundred persons, who purchased land from the Canada company, at Wilberforce, U. C. The number of settlers is now between one and two hundred, most of whom emigrated during the first year. Some hundred acres of land have been partially cleared, and several log houses erected in the settlement. Now, as to what the actual condition of this establishment may be at present, our only means of information have already been before the public. An agent of the emigrants visited the United States some months since, for the purpose of soliciting aid in its behalf, on the strength of a certificate from a respectable authority, that the colony was, at that date,—about a year since,—‘from circumstances beyond its control, in a state of great suffering.’ It also appears, more recently, that as many as two thousand colored emigrants from the States have, within about two years, transiently lodged at the Wilberforce settlement, and subsequently left it for other parts of Canada. But, without reference to the history of the colony, it is sufficient to observe, that its means of doing good, like its prospect of enjoying comfort, situated as it is, are necessarily both limited and precarious. The bearing it might have in time of war, in case of becoming prosperous and populous, is a consideration which concerns this country, more, perhaps, than itself. The light in which it is at least *liable* to be regarded at all times by the government which now suffers it to exist, may be inferred from the tenor of certain resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, about two years since. The following is the first of the series.

‘*Resolved*, That this House has great cause of alarm, for the peace and security of the inhabitants of the western parts of this Province, by reason of the rumored intention, *on the part of the Canada Company*, of introducing large bodies of negro settlers into this province.’

The second resolution is a more special stricture upon the management of the Company. The third recognizes the importance to the Province of encouraging all proper emigration. The fifth expresses a fear of the evils which must arise from the project under discussion. The fourth is more deserving of notice than either of the others.

‘*Resolved*, That although *this House has long observed, without uneasiness, that fugitive slaves of color do occasionally escape into this Province; and, recognizing the law of nature which*

says, that "*the fugitive shall not be delivered up to his pursuers*," *this House is still unwilling to shut the door against the outcast*; yet the introduction of a mass of black population, likely to continue without limitation, is a matter so dangerous to the peace and comfort of the inhabitants, that it now becomes necessary to prevent or check, by some prudent restrictions, this threatening evil.'

We shall make no comment upon the policy here disclosed, or upon any doctrines of international courtesy or law which these declarations rather suggest than refer to. The policy itself is abundantly plain, being precisely similar to that adopted about a century ago by the Spanish sub-government of Florida, in reference to the other extremity of the Union. Waiving this point, it is evident, that the advocates of the Canadian scheme can hardly look for any considerable patronage either on the American or foreign side of the line. The slave-holders, especially, if they choose to emancipate their negroes, will have more reasons than one, independently of the public interest, for preferring a remote rendezvous to a near one. The British government will provide for their own 'peace and security,' on the other hand, by maintaining a proper *surveillance* over the settlement, and at all events by restraining its increase and influence within such limits as to render it, were it ever so well situated in other respects, a matter of consequence only to the individual emigrants, and not to the American community, either of whites or blacks. We might remark upon the comparative adaptation of the Canadian and the African climate, to the African constitution; and the comparison might be illustrated by the history of the only colony of colored people whom we recollect to have heard of in a northern latitude, viz. the refugees removed from our Southern States to Nova-Scotia, near the close of the Revolution, at their own pressing solicitation, and after much more time than they coveted for experiment and reflection. But, in fine, granting to the Canadian project all the success it can hope for,—and the parent government, it is well known, is recently in no such want of good settlers as to make it more of an object to them than it has been heretofore, to encourage 'the introduction of a mass of black population;*'—at the best, there is not the slightest occasion for jealousy

* Last season, the number of emigrants by way of the St. Lawrence alone, was estimated at 55,000; it must be vastly greater during this.

between the friends of that project and those of the African one. Our own opinion certainly is, that the former promises to be of more detriment than benefit to every party concerned. Others may have the same opinion of the latter. But all will probably agree, that there is no probability of too much good being done by either or both.

To the subject of Haytian colonization, we might content ourselves with applying the same observation. The location and political character of that country make it a no less objectionable asylum for our black population, as regards the general American interest, than that of the settlement last named. Its extent is much more limited, and the emigrants who resort thither, are, and must be, absolutely dependent upon the will of a foreign government, in law and in fact; whereas, an important principle in the design of the Colonization Society, is, to give its emigrants the benefit and comfort of a government of their own management and choice. As to the actual situation of the emigrants to Hayti, this, if it can be ascertained, must certainly be more conclusive than any reasoning upon the subject. Hitherto, our accounts have agreed in scarcely any thing, but in being alike superficial, and for the most part contradictory. Some *facts*, however, are of a less ambiguous character. One is, that Haytian emigration has nearly, if not altogether ceased. Another is, that a considerable number of those who have emigrated, have returned to this country. The most authentic *rumors* which have reached us represent, first, that a great many of the emigrants would gladly return if they could; and secondly, that such as are apparently contented to remain, have by no means meliorated their condition by removing. It is but a few months, since a minute and manifestly candid account of the 'Court of Hayti' was circulated in the newspapers, as coming from the pen of an intelligent naval officer of the United States. His description of the Haytians is the most favorable we have met with. 'It is a matter of surprise,' says the writer, after detailing many facts, which certainly support his conclusion, 'that a people who, little more than a quarter of a century since, were in the most ignorant and degraded state, should so easily have assumed the manners and polish of the most enlightened nations.' His next paragraph we heartily commend to the notice of the friends of Haytian Colonization, only adding, without comment, the bare fact, that the emigrants speak a different language from the natives.

‘There can be no people more dissimilar, than the natives of this Island, and the colored emigrants from the United States; and I am inclined to think it will be long before they will coalesce, or that the latter will become reconciled to their situation here. They are too indolent to work, and finding themselves looked on as inferiors, become dissatisfied, and prefer living as they were wont to do, on contingencies and occasional depredations on their neighbors. I have been told that many of them have returned to the United States, and others that I have conversed with, are desirous of doing so.’

Such are some of the objections to the different places of settlement fixed upon or proposed by the patrons of as many different schemes. Of the location chosen by the Colonization Society, we only observe, for the present, that it labors under none of the disadvantages which much reduce if they do not outweigh the value of the others. Liberia is separated from us by the breadth of the Atlantic ocean,—a circumstance involving many essential considerations which require no remark. The settlements being upon the coast, and upon navigable rivers near the coast, the facilities for the emigration and location of settlers are of course greater than they can be in cases where the whole distance is to be travelled by land, or where a long journey is to be performed at the end of a long voyage. No foreign power lays claim to the territory. None ever did, excepting the native kings; and with them peaceable negotiations have procured the cession of a tract extending in one direction nearly three hundred miles. The opportunities of increasing this domain are unlimited. It may be made the seat of an independent empire; and the jurisdiction now retained by the Society, is ready to be surrendered to the colonists themselves, as the government already *is* in a great measure, whenever the efficient assistance now rendered them *by* the Society, shall be no longer desirable. The population will be homogeneous. Distinctions of rank will arise only from distinctions of worth. The climate is the native climate of the African, and the soil is among the richest upon the face of the earth.

It has been suggested, that the objects which the Society propose to accomplish, might have been better undertaken by the General Government, or by the States. Such, however, were and are the difficulties in the way of this policy, that whether founded in truth and reason or not, to await their removal, would be losing much time at the best. This time,

including the fifteen years last past, has been and will be occupied by the Society, not merely in doing something where nothing would otherwise be done, but in doing precisely what was necessary, to convince the parties referred to of the propriety of *their* action, and to enable them to act to advantage. The Society, operating only as such,—though certainly with an energy which would have done credit to a much more considerable power,—have shown, as well as any institution or corporation in their stead could have shown, that the system, which twenty years ago existed only in speculation, is both practicable and advantageous,—practicable in exact proportion to the means supplied; and advantageous alike to the country which gives and receives, to the blacks and the whites, to the bond and the free. Localities have been provided; settlements have been formed; relations of friendship and commerce are established with the African tribes. The facilities of transportation have been multiplied; and the colonizing process, in all its minutiae, matured,—in the only possible way,—by experience. And while these things have been effected abroad, the Society has been equally active and useful at home. Their entire scheme, with its principles, its history, its application to every class, and its bearing upon every interest, have been freely and thoroughly discussed. In a word, matters have been brought to precisely such an aspect as was proper to induce, if not to such a position as was necessary to justify, the co-operation of more powerful agents. The system itself is susceptible of indefinite enlargement; and the Society stands ready, as it always has, either to continue or cease to act, and to assume a co-ordinate or subordinate station, having reference only to the general welfare as determined by the general will.

We ought not to dismiss this part of our subject without observing, that many events have taken place since the formation of the Society, which strikingly corroborate these views of its usefulness, by indicating the views elsewhere entertained. At the date last mentioned, Virginia was the only State which had declared itself in favor even of the theory. Two years afterwards, a resolution unanimously passed the Legislature of Maryland, suggesting the expediency, on the part of the national Government, of procuring ‘a tract of country, on the Western Coast of Africa, for the Colonization of the Free People of Color of the United States.’ Tennessee was the next to follow this example, by a resolution instructing her senators and repre-

sentatives in Congress, to give to the General Government any aid in their power in effecting ‘a plan, which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country,’ of the same class. In 1824, Ohio and Connecticut declared their approbation of the Society’s plan. In 1827, it was *resolved* by the General Assembly of Kentucky, ‘That they view with deep and friendly interest the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the Coast of Africa, for the Free People of Color of the United States, &c.’ And the same State has more recently expressed itself in favor of an appropriation of money by Congress. The Society has also been recommended by eight other States, viz. ; New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Georgia and Indiana, as also by the Senates of Louisiana and Massachusetts. Nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the Union may be numbered among its advocates. Its eminent individual patrons, in every section of the country, are far too numerous to be particularly mentioned. Not the least ardent of its foreign friends are those champions of humanity, the venerable Wilberforce and Clarkson ; names to be remembered with the blessing of millions, ages after their own marble monuments shall be but dust.

We do not spread out this list of authorities, highly respectable as they are, for any purpose of ostentation, or because we consider them a conclusive argument for the policy in question. We do regard them, however, as singular illustrations of the great effects which may always be expected from great efforts. The Society has moved upon the principle, that it was only necessary, for ensuring the most complete success, first, to acquaint the public thoroughly with the merits of their theory, and secondly, to prove the feasibility of it in practice. Both these things we think they have done, and the result upon public opinion, as above stated, speaks for itself.

But a still more certain test may be found in the contributions received. They were

In 1820, 1821 and 1822,	-	-	-	\$5,625 66
1823,	-	-	-	4,798 02
1824,	-	-	-	4,379 89
1825,	-	-	-	10,125 85
1826,	-	-	-	14,779 24
1827,	-	-	-	13,294 94

1828,	-	-	-	-	-	13,458	17
1829,	-	-	-	-	-	19,795	61
1830,	-	-	-	-	-	26,583	51
1831,	-	-	-	-	-	32,102	58

With such success has the Society ‘appealed to the moral sense of our countrymen.’ But, ‘for the consummation of their design,’ as we have already intimated, ‘they looked to mightier powers.’* The Constitution itself provides, that the Society ‘shall act to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.’

It is unnecessary here to inquire, what assistance may be reasonably looked for from the former of these two sources. It was once supposed, that territory could be obtained only through a national medium; but the event proved otherwise. It was also apprehended that the Colony might not be safe either from savage or civilized foes, unless the United States should assume jurisdiction over it. The Committee, who in 1817 reported to Congress upon the Memorial of the President and Managers of the Society, stated that a *preliminary step* would be to provide for the perfect neutrality of the Colony, ‘by the explicit assent and engagement of all the civilized Powers.’† But ten years afterwards, another Committee declared their opinion, that from the power of the maritime States of Europe and America, and the agitations and dangers of their frequent wars, ‘the humanity of the world would afford a better protection than the flag of any single State, however powerful.’ The Society, therefore, *urge* no proposal of this kind. Again; Mr. Jefferson once suggested, that nothing was more to be wished than that the United States would themselves make an establishment on the coast of Africa; ‘but for this,’ he added, ‘the national mind is not prepared.’‡ Nor does the Society lay stress upon *any* claims on the Government, respecting which a question can be raised. So lately as the spring of the current year, Mr. Clay, who has uniformly been among the most efficient patrons and officers of the Institution,

* African Repository for May, 1825.

† See *Report*—Fourteenth Congress, second Session; dated February 11, 1817. Mr. Pickering, of this State, was Chairman of the Committee.

‡ Letter to John Lynd.

remarked, on presenting in the Senate a Memorial in its behalf, that, as to the subject of colonizing the free blacks, 'he had not conclusively made up his mind upon the precise extent of the power of the Federal Government to promote it; it required a calm and dispassionate investigation, and would, under circumstances favorable to the consideration, be examined and decided.' Thus stands the constitutional question, so far as it is one. As to certain other kinds of countenance and aid, not here alluded to, a question can hardly be said to exist. They come plainly under the Executive department; and President Monroe, in particular, is well known to have liberally exercised, in behalf of the Society, the discretion which in these respects he supposed to belong to him. Instead of pursuing this subject, we shall only introduce, in illustration of our meaning, a suggestion made by Chief-Justice Marshall, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society, dated a few months since.

'It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. Some of our cruisers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade,—a horrid traffic detested by all good men,—and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas. The power of the Government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable and the most effective that can be devised.'

The proposition of Mr. King, (of New York) here mentioned, and submitted to the Senate of the United States, in 1825, provided that upon the national debt being fully discharged, the national lands, with all proceeds of future sales, should constitute a fund for the emancipation and removal of such slaves as might be liberated under State laws, and for the aid of such free people of color as might be desirous of emigrating. Mr. Madison's opinions upon this point are much the same with Judge Marshall's.*

As to the State Governments, no exception whatever can be taken to any assistance they are able to render the Society,

* See the letters of Messrs. Madison and Marshall, with one from General Lafayette, (Vice Presidents of the Society,) at length, in the *Fifteenth Annual Report*.

and they may render much. The Legislature of Georgia, as long since as 1817, in providing for the disposal of blacks brought into that State contrary to the Federal law of 1808, *enacted*, that if, previously to the sale of any such persons, the Colonization Society should undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place, paying both the expenses of removal and the charges incurred by the State, ‘his Excellency, the Governor, is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said Society, in such manner as he may deem expedient.’ A number of negroes have been colonized in pursuance of this regulation, and still more of the same class who came under the charge of the General Government. Virginia has once appropriated a portion of its funds to the promotion of the Society’s purposes. Maryland, in 1826, gave them a thousand dollars. But a more liberal provision of the same character, made by the Legislature of that State at its last session, is the best illustration of the manner in which any of the States may avail themselves of the Society’s system, whenever they deem it expedient, either for the promotion of the general good, or of their own more particular interest. The law referred to is quite voluminous and minute. Its principal sections provide, 1. For the appointment of three persons, being members of the Maryland Colonization Society, whose duty it shall be to take the necessary measures for removing, with their own consent, the people of color in Maryland, now free, or such as may become so, to Liberia, or any foreign location which *they* shall approve. 2. The appropriation of twenty thousand dollars, for the present year, towards carrying the object expressed in the first section into effect; the three Managers to make discretionary preparations at Liberia, or elsewhere, for the reception, accommodation and support of the emigrants, and to obtain and communicate to the people of Maryland all the information in their power respecting the Liberian settlement, or any other which may be selected. 3. The county clerks are required to notify the Managers of all deeds of manumission left with them to record; and the Managers to notify either the Maryland, or the American Colonization Society of the same. If these decline to transport them, the Managers are themselves to assume that duty. If the manumitted person refuse to emigrate, he is required to leave the State, the power being however reserved in certain courts to grant special permissions of residence. All slaves

are made capable of receiving manumission for the purpose of removal, 'of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.' These are the outlines of the Maryland law. The bearing which, if continued in force, it may have on the welfare of that State, especially as connected with the slave system, and which analogous regulations, modified by circumstances, would have in other States, are considerations that unquestionably will arrest that attention, in many sections of the country, which their great importance demands.

We have spoken of the slave-system, and of the bearing which the colonization policy may be expected to have upon it. Far as we are from coveting the unnecessary agitation of that subject, and especially any agitation of it in a manner calculated to interfere wantonly even with the feelings of those who are mainly concerned in it, we yet think it incumbent upon us, in the examination of the Society's scheme, to allude particularly to a part of it, which has probably been more than all other parts together, an occasion of prejudice against the whole. We say prejudice, because we believe, as we shall endeavor to show, that the complaints and suspicions alluded to,—however much, under the circumstances of those who indulge them, they might have been anticipated as well as regretted by the Society, and however sincere the manner in which they are sometimes urged proves them to be,—are, nevertheless, owing only to the want either of full information or of dispassionate and thorough reflection. As regards the slave-holders and the slave-holding States, we hesitate not to believe, and we fear not to say, that nothing is requisite to make them universally the warmest patrons of the colonization policy, but a fair understanding of its principles. In many noble instances they are so already. The system originated in the wisdom of the Ancient Dominion. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. New Jersey, Kentucky and Tennessee, have declared themselves ready to support any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favor. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously. A single private body of men in North Carolina have contributed more to its support, than any other similar number in the Union. And its most illustrious and efficient friends, at this time and at all times, are and have been themselves owners of slaves, and residents in the midst

of a slave population. These circumstances alone, contrasted with the apprehensions expressed in other quarters by parties similarly situated, sufficiently indicate the necessity of a frank and full explanation. Let us know, then, what are the principles of the Colonization Society in reference to the slave system. We shall borrow our information on this subject from their official publications. The history of their career will be the surest test of its correctness.

In the first place, then, the Society, as a society, recognizes *no* principles in reference to the slave system. It says nothing, and proposes to do nothing, respecting it. Indeed, but for accusations and attacks subsequent to their formation, which they did not anticipate, we suppose they would hardly have undertaken to explain themselves on a point where the necessity of explanation, no more than the possibility of misunderstanding, ever occurred to them. The object, to which their attention is to be *exclusively* directed,—using the words of the Constitution,—is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) *the free people of color*.

Here perhaps the investigation might properly terminate. But though the Society, as such, recognize no principles, they do recognize opinions, upon the subject in question; and these opinions they do not seek to conceal. They have invariably disclosed, though never urged them, on all suitable occasions.

So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, 1. That slavery is a moral and political evil. 2. That it is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest nor ability to disturb. 3. That neither the commencement nor the continuance of this system is generally chargeable to the slave-holders or the slave-holding States. 4. That the Governments and the individuals immediately and personally concerned in the system, and they alone, have the *right* to manage and modify it as they choose. 5. That it is their *interest*, and also peculiarly in their *power*, in reference to slavery, to promote the Society's design.

That the Society hold the first of these opinions, is too notorious to require proof. We have used the words of their official communications upon this subject, and they are full of similar sentiments from first to last.* Now whether they are

* See particularly the African Repository for September, 1830, and the Society's Fourteenth Annual Report.

correct in this opinion or not ; whether it is, (to use their own language) ‘ a truth inscribed as it were upon the firmament of heaven, and the face of the earth, and the heart of man ;’ whether ‘ the denial of it would be the denial of the fundamental principles of all free governments,’ we do not propose to decide. It is enough that they are sincere, while they do not profess to be infallible ; that their declarations are in free, but not offensive language ; and that they limit themselves altogether to the exercise of moral influence. They know the abstract diversity of opinion which exists, and they know still better the practical rights of those who differ from themselves.

Let us here remark, however, in regard to this diversity, that there is much less of it,—that is, that our countrymen, including those of the Southern States, are much more unanimous in considering slavery *an evil*, than may be generally supposed. Distinguished and highly respected individuals have indeed held otherwise. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, for example, several years ago described the South-Carolinian slavery as ‘ no greater nor more unusual evil than befalls the poor in general.’ He also said that its extinction would be calamitous to the country ; and that the system is sanctioned by the Mosaic, and at least tolerated by the Christian dispensation.* Governor Miller of the same State, in one of his messages to the Legislature, says ; ‘ Slavery is not a national evil ; on the contrary, it is a national benefit. Slavery exists in some form every where, and it is not of much consequence, in a philosophical view, whether it be voluntary or not.’ These are certainly not the sentiments of the Colonization Society ; and they do not hesitate to express their confidence, that even the Southern public are generally of *their* opinion. Many of their own number, indeed, belong to that section, and still more are or have been slave-holders. And they appeal to the authority of the greatest men whom the South has produced. The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson are too familiar to our readers, to be more than referred to. ‘ As we ought, with gratitude,’ said Patrick Henry, in the Debates of the Virginia Convention, ‘ to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage.’ The expressions of

† We refer to an address delivered in Charleston, before the State Agricultural Society, 1824.

Governor Randolph were, that he hoped no man would object to *their* discharge of their own duty, because there was some prospect 'that those unfortunate men, now held in bondage, might, by the operation of the General Government, be made free.' Judge Tucker wrote, in 1798, that the introduction of slavery into this country was at that day 'considered among its greatest misfortunes.' The venerable Judge Washington many years since observed, that if the Colonization Society should lead to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, 'it will wipe from our political institutions, the only blot which stains them.' The declarations of many other of our illustrious fellow-citizens at the South and West, to the same effect, may be seen in the Society's official publication for January, 1829.* We should have spared such as we have already given, but for misrepresentations upon this point, which have recently been circulated by persons who are endeavoring to convince the public, that because the Society do not boisterously insist upon immediate abolition, therefore, they are doing all in their power to strengthen and justify the entire system and process of slavery from beginning to end. This logic requires no additional notice.

Such is the estimate which the Society place upon the abstract character of slavery. Still, say they, this system embraces in its provisions only the free. It does not interfere, it does not intend to interfere, with the rights or the interest of the proprietors of slaves. It seeks to quiet all unkind feelings between the sober and virtuous men of the North and of the South on the subject. It sends abroad no influence to disturb the peace, or endanger the security and prosperity of any portion of the country.†

Moreover, '*the States wherein it [slavery] exists are alone regarded as possessing the right and power, under the Constitution of the country, to legislate upon it.*'‡ Even more recently than the date of this declaration, Mr. Clay, in the Senate of the United States, on the occasion already alluded to, 'disclaimed, for the Colonization Society, all design of interrupting the arrangements of the States concerning slavery, *knowing that it was wholly removed beyond the jurisdiction of the General Government.*'

* See also an able article upon this subject in a number of the Southern Review, published two or three years since.

† African Repository, for Sept. 1831.

‡ Ibid.

Again, say the Society, 'it condemns no man because he is a slave-holder.' While they zealously maintain the doctrine that every thing should be done to mitigate and eradicate slavery, which circumstances make it both possible and proper to do, they do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper, with the misfortune of the owner of imported and inherited slaves. As to unqualified emancipation, they consider individual happiness and individual freedom, as properly subordinate to the public good; and not less so in the case of the slave,—already a slave, be it remembered,—than in that (for example) of the minor. To come frankly to the point, they hold that *it is not right that men should be free, when their liberty will prove injurious to themselves and others*; and this principle, they conceive, applies to the circumstances of the slave population of the South and West, except so far as a modification of these circumstances, sufficient in itself to justify emancipation, may be effected by the Society's, or by some similar plan.

We have said, that they do not hold the present generation responsible for the existence of slavery, and of course not for its origin. It was a system entailed upon the South, by the Government to which it was subject. Take the history of Virginia for proof, whose colonial Legislature passed more than twenty acts to suppress slavery, all of which were negatived by the king. The same body, in 1776, abolished the slave-trade under their own jurisdiction. At the termination of the war, they permitted slave-owners to emancipate, either by will or deed.

The law of 1806, requiring emancipated persons to leave the State, was the result of a thorough experiment, which convinced those who looked about them, and who reflected maturely upon the subject, that manumission without removal was the occasion of more evil than good. Several of the slave-holding States have taken the same course; and several more, both slave-holding and others, have made regulations to prevent, among other things, the immigration into their own territory, of such persons as are turned out by their neighbors because *they* are unwilling to harbor them. The measures of a similar character, adopted in reference to the free blacks, previously resident, or not newly emancipated, need not be the subject of present discussion.

In respect to the population which is the occasion of these laws, the Colonization Society act upon precisely the same

principle which governs the States in excluding such as they emancipate, and which generally prevents individuals from manumitting at all, where the law makes no regulation to that effect. The only difference,—and that, as regards the welfare of the country at large, may be called an important one,—is, that the States and individuals legislate and act with a special reference to their own particular interests; whereas, the Society,—organized and universally operating with a view to the common benefit of North and South alike, the slave-holding and free States, the excluding and non-excluding,—maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized. They reason for all the States, as each one reasons for itself; and as Congress, if it had power to legislate, would legislate for all. If, we say, it had the power. This power the Society does not attribute to Congress. Congress itself does not claim it. A true indication of the sense of that body upon this point, and certainly a plausible exposition of the doctrine in question, may be found in a recent report of the Committee for the District of Columbia, on certain memorials praying the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade *within the said District*.

‘Considering,’ say the Committee, ‘that the District is composed of cessions of territory made to the United States by the States of Virginia and Maryland, in both of which slavery exists, and the territories of which surround the District, your Committee are of opinion, that until the wisdom of the State Governments shall have devised some practicable means of eradicating or diminishing *the evil of slavery*, of which the memorialists complain, it would be unwise and impolitic, if not unjust to the adjoining States, for Congress to *interfere in a subject of such delicacy and importance, as is the relation between master and slave*.’

Congress, then, of its own suggestion, can do little or nothing for emancipation. Individual slave-owners must be governed by the laws of the States they reside in, did they believe, as they generally do not, that unqualified emancipation is justifiable in any point of view. The legislation of many of these States we have noticed. And now,—waiving abstract discussion, and taking matters as they are,—what may it be supposed will be the result of this legislation, on the interest of the slaves themselves? How far will emancipation be ultimately promoted? The answer must be a plain one. The free States, and the

hitherto non-excluding States, are no more ambitious to secure the immigration of the slaves let loose by Maryland, Virginia, and the other emancipating and excluding States, than the latter are to retain them in their new condition. There is some reason, why the former should and will object even more strongly than the latter to such a population, and the reasoning is becoming daily more cogent; for as more States adopt the system of legislation alluded to, fewer States are of course left to be receptacles for the circulating population which that system produces. Now, it is occasion enough for the existence of the Colonization Society, that such a population exists,—somewhere in the country,—being, as they believe, a burden not alone to itself, but to the whole country, and especially to the section where it happens to lodge. But still another motive looks to the cause of emancipation itself. As matters are proceeding, the process must soon be suspended. The States which have not yet legislated, will be forced to do so in self-defence. Not to adduce other instances to support our remark, Ohio has been among the first to adopt rigorous measures; and Pennsylvania, always distinguished for her noble liberality of sentiment and action in regard to this subject, sees herself on the brink of the same necessity:

‘Whereas,’ are the words of a preamble and resolution recently proposed to the House of Delegates in that State, ‘the States of Virginia and Maryland are about to pass some penal enactments for the purpose of expelling their free black population from their respective States, amounting to the number of about one hundred and twenty-three thousand, whereby the adjoining States, without some countervailing provision by law, must be overrun by an influx of ignorant, indolent and depraved population, most dangerous to the peace, rights and liberties of our fellow-citizens, and tending to undermine the fundamental principles of the republic: Therefore

‘*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judicial system be instructed to inquire into the expediency of passing a law to protect the good citizens of this Commonwealth against the evils arising from the emigration of free blacks from other States into Pennsylvania.’

When, to the population here mentioned, we come to add that of the same description treated in the same manner by other States, and then the whole of that numerous class now in the process or prospect of being *made* free, it is not to

be wondered at, certainly, that the result we have spoken of as approaching, is already in progress. Emancipation must cease. The slave-holding States will not retain such persons as they manumit. The others, one by one, will refuse to receive them. And then the manufacture,—already and always a drug,—must absolutely cease for want of a market.

We have not here argued any question relating to the free blacks at large. Similar considerations apply to the country as regards them, and others to them as regards the country ; but these are the foundation of a distinct argument. Nor do we undertake to decide on the abstract propriety or policy of the system of legislation referred to, as adopted in the first instance. It is sufficient in the present connexion, to show, that such legislation exists, and to prove its effect, so far as this effect is proved by facts. Statement alone is argument.

We come now to the question, what can the Society do for slaves, and what does it wish to do? The answer is, it offers the means of their removal to such States or individuals as choose to emancipate them for that purpose. It both induces and justifies this emancipation, by supplying that provision which, in one form or another, all parties alike deem indispensable. It conveys to Liberia, rather from than for Maryland, the manumitted emigrant who otherwise, as circumstances are, would perhaps settle in Massachusetts or Indiana, and who, as circumstances probably will be, would soon lose the possibility of being manumitted at all. The first preliminary to this operation is the consent of the master. The second is the consent of the slave. It does not appear to us, that the Society's expectations of effecting something in pursuance of these principles, are visionary or extravagant. We believe, that while no intelligent citizen can possibly take offence at this proposal to remove, or assist in removing or settling, such persons as may be committed to their charge with that view, a great number of slave-holders, in all parts of the country, are ready to avail themselves of the offer. Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from necessity, and not from choice. Perhaps the laws of the State they reside in, provide emancipation. If so, why is it ; and if not, why are they still unwilling to emancipate? Here is a plantation, stocked with a hundred slaves, of which one man was born the proprietor. Why not let them loose forthwith, as the aboli-

tionists would advise? To this question, he replies, perhaps, that as to his own interest, though he is himself the best judge of that, as he is also of his own rights, yet that is a subordinate point. Setting the public welfare aside, he, too, must regard the interest of the slave. Circumstances beyond his control, have made it a duty which he cannot avoid, to provide for his sustenance and comfort. He looks around him, and observes the effect which emancipation has had upon others. This observation convinces him that the slave is incapable of taking care of himself. To manumit him, will be to make him a felon or a pauper; and he does not believe that any abstract reasoning whatever upon slavery, or the slave-trade, or the rights of the original African in his own country, can justify him in doing either the one or the other. Whether this is entirely sound reasoning, on the whole, or how far it is so, it belongs not to us to determine. Its sincerity at least ought not to be doubted. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that such has been and is the theory of almost all, who have had the best means of examining the subject. Even throughout the very animated debates in the Parliament, which preceded the British abolition of the slave-trade, zealous as many enlightened and illustrious men were in the cause of the negroes, no other doctrine than this on the point in question was suggested. ‘A rash emancipation of the slaves,’ said Mr. Pitt, ‘would be *mischievous*. *It would be no justice on either side to give them liberty. They were as yet incapable of it,*’ &c. Mr. Fox heartily agreed with Mr. Pitt; ‘it might be as *dangerous*,’ he thought, ‘at once to liberate a man used to slavery, as in the case of one who had never seen daylight, to expose him at once to the full glare of a meridian sun.’ Mr. Wilberforce said, ‘the negroes were uninformed and debased. Hence they were unfit for civil rights,’ &c. But waiving authorities,—which have been alluded to rather in illustration than confirmation of the reasoning stated above,—it is enough here to be reminded, that such *is* the reasoning of the West and South, and hence it is, we have no hesitation in saying, that ‘hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage;—because they are convinced that they can do no better.’* Of those who avail themselves of their legal com-

* Address to the Public by the Managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut, in 1828.

petency to manumit, on condition of the removal of the slaves from the State,—that is, into some other State,—and of the consequences of this process, we have already spoken.

To return again to facts; so far as we have the means of ascertaining the truth, that class of slave-owners just mentioned, who object to emancipation for reasons professedly conscientious, are generally, as might be supposed, willing to emancipate them on condition of their being colonized. The Society has met with many evidences of such a disposition. A gentleman in Georgia, for instance, offered them, in 1828, the whole of his slaves, forty-three in number, for the purpose of being colonized. During the same season, a clergyman in Virginia offered them seventeen.

‘They are as desirable a parcel,’ he writes to the Society, ‘for their integrity and industry, as any man owns. But I cannot do my duty to them in their present situation. I have been trying to teach them to read, but the circumstances of their situation render this an almost hopeless task. The younger are as fine-looking little fellows as you have seen, and in a land of freedom they would avoid many habits incidental to a state of slavery, and in due time, under God’s blessing, become useful to the Colony. In giving up my negroes, I shall become poor. I can at present do nothing more for them than give them their liberty. Will you take them on these terms?’

An instance of considerate liberality, not less striking, occurred about the same time, on the part of a lady, who wrote to the Secretary in the following terms. We cite these passages, to indicate the feeling, as well as to prove the fact, we have stated above.

‘I then understood [alluding to a former conversation] that in case I should so arrange my affairs as to be able to offer my slaves to the Colonization Society, you thought they would undertake to send them to Liberia. I have deferred making a direct application, until obtaining a full and legal title to them, which I might be able to transfer. I have labored incessantly to effect this end, and I am now in full possession, as lawful purchaser, of twenty-five negroes, and am prepared to dispose of them in the way which may appear most advisable for their benefit. They are young and promising; a number of young boys, some young girls, and a few old persons; but out of the number are several who are decidedly opposed to going to Liberia, and prefer slavery here to freedom in Africa. These I

should not think of using force with. My situation is such, as precludes the possibility of my doing more than to give them their freedom. They are awarded to me at a valuation of four thousand one hundred dollars.'

In 1826, Mr. Minge, of Charles County, Virginia, not only emancipated more than *eighty* slaves, for the purpose of sending them to Hayti, but chartered a brig for their transportation, furnished them with supplies, and distributed a peck of dollars among them as a farewell present. Mr. Henshaw, near Richmond, liberated sixty, to be sent to Liberia. A year or two subsequently, a gentleman in Kentucky writes to the Society, that he 'will give up twelve or fifteen of his colored people now, and so on gradually, till the whole are given up (sixty), *if means for their passage to Liberia can be provided.*' In January, 1829, offers were pending to the Society of more than two hundred slaves, ready to be manumitted on the same conditions. At that time, thirty had just been sent out from Maryland, and twenty-five from South Carolina; and to pass over several hundreds more who have either been colonized, or necessarily neglected for want of funds, and as many more whose freedom has been provided for by will, on condition of removing, we find it stated in Mr. Carey's pamphlet, and in the last Annual Report of the Society, that in North Carolina and the adjacent States alone, 'the applications for the transportation of free negroes *and slaves* proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means.' *From three to four thousand* of both descriptions, we are afterwards informed, are ready to embark.' In 1830, it appears, that the Society of *Friends* belonging to the State just named, had enabled six hundred and fifty-two colored persons under their care to emigrate, with an unknown number of children, husbands, and wives, connected with them by consanguinity. Many of them are understood to have been slaves. Their generous benefactors had then expended nearly thirteen thousand dollars; and four hundred and two persons remained, who were also to be removed. It is not easy to calculate how much more rapidly this process might have gone on, had the Society directed its entire attention to promoting it. This they have not been in a situation to do with propriety. Until the last season, they have not even employed a General Agent for the Western States; and yet the person now acting in that

capacity, writing to the Secretary a few months since from New Orleans, observes, that he has found more men of influence and distinction (slave-holders), who manifest an unshaken determination to sustain any effort that may be made in favor of the cause, than in any other place.* He then gives a detail of facts, which show, that hundreds are ready to be manumitted in all the Western States, whenever the means of sending them off shall be matured. No doubt the Society have prevented many proposals of the same kind in other quarters, by the frequent declarations they have made of their inability to meet half of the applications they receive. They have been limited by the extent of their funds, and also by the obvious necessity of supplying their settlements in due proportion with emigrants of a different character. For the better illustration of the policy of commixture, as hitherto observed, we have made up as complete a statement as our documents enable us, of the settlers actually colonized previously to the current year. It will furnish matter for reflection also, in some other points of view. The number of re-captured Africans and manumitted slaves colonized each year, since 1824, are placed respectively in separate columns. Previously to that date, we are not able to furnish a full list; but they are probably not many more than appear in the table.

Whole number		Rec. Africans.	Slaves.
down to May, 1823,	225	- - 15	—
1824,	105	- - —	—
1825,	66	- - —	—
1826,	288	- - —	13
1827,	238	- - 142	—
1828,	295	- - —	88
1829,	160	- - —	44
1830,	406	- - 91	198
1831,	445	- - —	45

It would give us the greatest pleasure to dwell upon several instances of noble generosity, which have occurred in the course of these manumissions. Such, for example, as the manumitters purchasing the freedom of other slaves, kindred to those manumitted, at a great expense, for the sake of colonizing

* See Mr. Finley's Letter in the Repository for January last.

whole families together,*—but the space we have already occupied with this subject, forbids us to enlarge farther.

As we have already said, the number sent out by the Society of the class of emigrants last mentioned is small, compared with the number of applicants. About two hundred were colonized in 1830, being more than twice as many as in any other year ; but so far was this from satisfying the wishes of the slave-holders, that six hundred applications for a passage (besides those of one thousand *free* blacks) were pending at the commencement of that season ; and the Society were informed upon respectable authority, that two thousand slaves were ready to be liberated in North Carolina alone, provided the Society would undertake the charge of them. Among those in the same situation a few months since, were about fifty, manumitted by one gentleman in Georgia, who have since been sent out to the Colony.

The number of slaves colonized is small, also, in comparison with the whole number of emigrants. But we think not too small, for the first stages of an experiment, of which the perfect prosperity and good reputation were of so much consequence in the outset. The same obvious reasons which make the slaves unfit for absolute emancipation here, have made it impolitic and therefore improper for the Society to receive such persons as settlers, frequently or in any considerable number at one time. It must be observed, too, that some hundreds of re-captured Africans have been among the Society's *protégés*,—as complete barbarians as were ever the miserable victims of the slave-trade. Nothing needs be added in relation to the remaining population, or of the numerous cares involved in the general management of the Colony.

The discretion heretofore exercised in the selection of emigrants has concurred with other circumstances to prevent an increase in the mere size of the Colony, which, though transiently subservient to its popularity, would certainly have been premature and perhaps ultimately fatal to its interests. At some future time, more latitude in this respect may probably be admissible. The most critical days of the Colony are gone

* One lady at the South, besides surrendering her own slaves and supplying them, gave eight hundred dollars for two of their relatives to accompany them to the Colony. Examples of this character ought not to be lost.

by. Its foundations have been laid broad and firm, and may be built upon with a liberal though still cautious hand. Eight or ten flourishing settlements have been opened, with abundant accessions of the finest territory in the world, extending along a line of sea-coast for nearly three hundred miles, teeming with the luxuriant verdure of the tropics, and watered by magnificent rivers. A system of allotment and occupation has been matured by experiment, which adapts itself to the situation of the recent emigrants in a manner that leaves little to be desired. In 1828, Mr. Ashmun, than whom no man better understood the interests of the Colony, expressed an opinion that, for two years then to come, a more discriminating selection of settlers should be made, than had been even in the first expeditions; and that otherwise the prosperity of the Colony would decline. 'At the end of that time,' he farther observed, 'the free colored population of the United States may be taken up *just as they are found there*, the working and the idle, as they are naturally distributed throughout the American States,—and sent to this Colony,—and my character for the stake, under good management, they will not be felt by it as a burden.*' This calculation,—and it applies to the manumitted slaves, as much as it does to the class specially referred to,—has the appearance of being a little sanguine. But the Society have at all events erred on the safe side, in following their Agent's suggestions more strictly and for a longer term than he would have required. They have their reward, truly, and not in their own consciences alone. They enjoy it in the gratitude of those, who by their instrumentality have been transformed from savages and slaves in a foreign country, to freeholders and citizens in the fair land of their forefathers. They enjoy it in the accomplishment, thus far, of all and more than all they have toiled for, in the contentment, the order, the prosperity, the praise of an establishment, which,—young and small as it is, and humble, though noble, as have been the means of its founders,—is for these very reasons only the more worthy of admiration and the more sure of success.

They will enjoy it, too, in the confidence of that large class of the American People, whose co-operation has been said to be essential to the perfection of that success. The Colonization Society, though instituted for other purposes declared by

* Letters from Africa, published in the *Repository* for May, 1828.

its constitution and developed by its history, has yet no more lost sight of the interest of the slaves, and of the whole country as connected with them, than it has of the rights of their masters. A part of these they suppose to be conscientiously attached to that system, as a system, as well as interested in the wealth which it constitutes. Such men, though they believe them to be mistaken, they address only by the circuitous but certain influence of example, evidence and reason. The same arguments must be left in the same way to succeed or fail in their application to such as have inherited the system of slavery from their fathers (upon whom it was forced) and have lived upon it, and in the midst of it, without it having ever occurred to them to debate and decide upon its merits. But others are willing to manumit. Be the motive what it may, interest, fear, patriotism, benevolent impulse, or regard to abstract principle, or all these combined, the Society proffers its services to all, and would convince all that what they would do may be done. They may act directly as States, like Maryland and Virginia. They may 'invite the United States to assist them all,'* as many governments in the Union have already suggested.

But so far and so long as they are obliged to act individually, the Society addresses them as individuals. A few are disposed to manumit without qualification, if they can but liberate the slave, and be liberated from him. These are few, indeed, and these circumstances indicate that they are moved by what they conceive to be a necessity. But they are numerous enough to have excited the apprehensions of the States they reside in, as well as of the States in their neighborhood; so that laws have been passed on one hand to operate as conductors, and upon the other, as non-conductors of the evils produced. One result is, as we have seen, to accumulate them in those sections which still neglect to legislate. This concerns not the manumitters very much at present, though the re-action from the parties afflicted will certainly concern them hereafter. But the vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no

* 'As to the people of color, if the people of the Southern States wished to emancipate them, (and he never would consent to emancipate them without sending them out of the country,) *they might invite the United States to assist us*: but without such an institution, the other States ought not, and would not interfere.' *Remarks of President Monroe.* See *Debates of the Virginia Convention.*

hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a patriotism and a philanthropy, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act. They believe it to be unjust to the slave, to turn him out, slave as he is,—still will be,—ignorant, destitute and despised, if nothing more, upon the highways of the world. They believe it to be unjust to their common country. They consider it still more an encroachment on the equitable, if not legal rights of those sections compelled to receive the population which themselves reject,—a burden not merely shifted, but first created by the act of manumission,—manufactured and then exported. They think themselves bound to retain their slaves during the continuance of these circumstances, *as* they think themselves bound, and are bound, to retain and maintain their children during minority; and for the much stronger reason, besides, that the former are far more able and likely to do and receive harm.

Such is the relation, such are the sentiments of one of the most influential classes of their fellow-citizens, whose confidence the Society desire, and whose co-operation they solicit. They have received both. They have received them beyond their own expectations,—against them. They have received them in the counsel and countenance of the greatest men, whom the slave-holding States have produced; in the active support of their own most efficient members, citizens of those States, and themselves owners of slaves; in the appropriations of two and the declarations of several more of these same States, and especially in a thousand voices of encouragement, and a thousand individual acts, worthy of the magnanimous charity of the West and the South.

And we doubt not they will receive them yet farther. They have supplied precisely the desideratum which was wanting, both to induce emancipation and to justify it. To an extent sufficient for experiment it takes place now, and to a far greater extent it will take place hereafter, without prejudice to any section, and, as the Society have always maintained, with the prospect of benefit to all. Nor is a mere removal of the unmitted population what they propose. This is indeed one consideration, but the slave-holders require something more. Simple humanity suggests, that they should not be satisfied with the *transportation* of the slave, as if it were the exportation of a bale of goods or the exile of a criminal. They would have

him at least as comfortable in his new situation as he was in his old ; and this, by the way, is probably much more so, than many people in the free States are apt to imagine.*

An outline of this new situation has already been given, in commenting upon the general plan of the Society. Nor do we propose, at the end of an article so long as this has become, to pursue the examination of that plan any farther, than to mention a few facts of the most importance, pertinent to the particular point now in question. Not much needs be added to what has been said, summary as it is, respecting the location of the Colony, and the amount and quality of the territory belonging to it. The account furnished by the emigrants themselves, in a memorial addressed, in 1827, to their free colored brethren in the United States, has, so far as we know, been universally allowed to be correct. It shows at least, that *they* are satisfied, and that is in itself one point gained.

‘The soil,’ say they, ‘is not exceeded for fertility or productiveness, when cultivated, by any soil in the world. The hills and plains are covered with perpetual verdure. The productions of the soil go on through the year without intermission. Notwithstanding the imperfection of the farming tools used by the natives, they raise more than they can consume, and frequently more than they can sell. Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats and sheep thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar-cane are all the spontaneous growth of our forests ; and may be cultivated at pleasure to any extent. The same may be said of rice, indian corn, guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruit to be enumerated.’

Under these circumstances, agriculture may certainly be expected to thrive ; nor is it the only resource. ‘Mechanics,’ adds the memorial, ‘of nearly every trade are carrying on their

* In the debates of the last Virginia House of Delegates, Mr. Gholson acknowledged the evils of the system, and thought it the duty of the people to mitigate them as much as possible. He added, ‘the slaves are as happy a laboring class as exists upon the face of the habitable globe : They are as well fed, clothed and treated ;’ and this he goes on to substantiate. We should, ourselves, qualify these remarks a little ; but we should qualify much more several counter-representations which have occasionally come to our notice. Mr. G. we should add, ‘would not discuss the question of the abstract right of slavery.’

various occupations ; their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.' Indeed, it is only to be feared that the facilities which exist for making money in other business, will rather prejudice the agricultural interest. The colonial Agent writes home under date of last August, that 'the generality of emigrants, finding they *can acquire a subsistence for themselves and their families in other pursuits*, are very apt to defer the improvement of their farm lands to some distant period. Emigrants on their arrival see examples, where men, by devoting themselves solely to commercial pursuits, have attained comparative affluence,' &c.* No doubt, care will be taken to encourage the more regular and safe investment of labor and capital. The commercial prospects of the Colony at large, which are highly flattering, need not be minutely discussed. We allude to that department here, only as connected with the personal condition of the colonists. The *Liberia Herald*,† dated a few months since, after mentioning the products of a part of the territory, called Grand Bassa, gives the following agreeable picture.

'The beach is lined with Liberians of all ages, from twelve to fifty years of age, eager in the pursuit of traffic, and in the acquisition of camwood. It is astonishing, what little time is necessary to qualify even the youngest to drive as hard a bargain as any roving merchant from the land of steady habits, with his assortment of tin ware, nutmegs, books, or dry goods.'

Generally, every emigrant is at liberty to adopt what occupation he prefers. Each adult, on arrival, receives a building-lot in one of the settlements. If within three miles of a town, he is allowed five acres of plantation lands ; if married, two for his wife, and one for each of his children, the whole not to exceed ten acres : beyond that distance, fifty acres for himself and family, with the privilege of purchasing within five years thereafter, fifty adjacent acres at the rate of twenty-five cents.

* African Repository for Nov. 1831.

† A weekly paper established at Monrovia,—the principal of the eight or ten settlements of the Colony,—about two years ago, and conducted in a manner highly creditable to the editor, Mr. Russwurm, a colored man. We had the pleasure of knowing him during his connexion with Bowdoin College, Me. where he graduated in 1826. His good education and excellent habits cannot fail to make him both useful and distinguished in his new situation,

The Agent has been authorized also to make a donation to any colonist or association of colonists, of a quantity of land not exceeding five hundred acres, on condition that the same be appropriated to the culture of coffee, cotton, and the sugarcane. To secure a title in fee simple to his lot, the occupant is obliged to build, within two years, a comfortable house, and clear and put under cultivation two acres of his land. The mechanic is expected to erect a substantial house on his town lot. Suitable provision is made for invalids, minors, and single women. All emigrants, on their first arrival, are admitted into buildings provided for their accommodation, and are supported more or less from the public stores, until able to maintain themselves. This term has varied heretofore from four to twelve months. Provisions, stuffs, shoes, and other necessities, are always to be bought at the public stores for labor, a preference being given to the emigrants last arrived. Schools have been established at three of the settlements, which are accessible to every child in the Colony. In Monrovia, there are three churches. Divine service is performed thrice on Sunday, and on two evenings during the week ; the preachers, like the instructors, being all persons of color. An Infirmary for Invalids has commenced operations. The military force is made up of six or seven volunteer uniform companies, numbering about five hundred men.

In regard to civil affairs, the constitution provides for the exercise of full powers of government by the Society, in the person of the Colonial Agent. The colonists are, however, allowed annually to choose a Vice-Agent, and two other officers, constituting with him what is called the Council. The former takes the place of the Agent, whenever necessary. The colonists also elect, from their own number, a High Sheriff, Treasurer, Health Officer, Agricultural Boards, and other functionaries. The Judiciary consists of the Agent and two justices created by his appointment. Judicial proceedings are regulated chiefly by the common law, the regulations peculiar to the Colony being few and simple. A Court of monthly sessions, with appellate jurisdiction, is held for the trial of offences above the degree of larceny. It speaks sufficiently for the moral character of the Colony, that no capital crime has been committed there since its commencement ; and very few, we believe, of any description.

The Society has always contended, that debased as the

blacks are but too generally among ourselves,—their misfortune and not their fault,—the most ignorant and humble of them were capable of becoming, under favorable circumstances, intelligent, industrious, and competent, in every point of view, for all the offices of an independent, social, and civil community. The experiment has succeeded to a very encouraging extent. Removed from the thralldom of slavery, and the pressure of circumstances more humiliating and degrading than slavery itself, the slave, when he leaps a free man upon the shore of his own ancient land, seems to throw off his very nature with his chains. The accounts to this effect, which reach us from all quarters, are gratifying in the highest degree. Take, for example, Mr. Mechlin's description of the manumitted slaves sent out in 1828, by the Harriet. They were located on farms at Caldwell, a town beautifully situated at the junction of two fine rivers, and consisting of one street, about a mile and a half long, kept very clean, and planted on either side with rows of plantains and bananas. An ornamented open space is left between these and the water. Mr. Mechlin says;

‘I was particularly struck with the great progress made by the Harriet's people in the cultivation of their farms, and had I not known to the contrary, should have supposed they had occupied them at least two or three years. In short, the whole place is in a high state of cultivation, and the inhabitants by their industry have placed themselves above want.’

The advances made by the re-captured Africans, under the admirable management of the Society in regard to them, have been equally surprising. Of the one hundred and forty-two colonized in 1828, only twenty remained, at the end of a week, a charge to the United States, by whom they were sent out. The majority were put out to service with old settlers for a certain term, with the expectation of being afterwards treated like other emigrants. A few months subsequently, the Colonial Agent describes them as having more than equalled his highest anticipations. More recently, they have been comfortably settled upon farms of their own. In 1830, the Vice-Agent speaks thus of the ninety-one persons of the same class, colonized early in that season.

‘I cannot perceive that the climate has any effect upon the re-captured people per the Heroine; they have all been placed on

lands assigned them, and have already constructed twenty superior country houses, thatched in a manner peculiar to themselves, and far surpassing those of any of the natives. As regards the old ones of this class, I consider them as the most independent men whom we have. Could you behold their neat town of New Georgia, you would be delighted, and could hardly believe, that these were the individuals, who, when in the United States, in a state of bondage, had no thought for the morrow. They supply our market with vegetables, potatoes, fowls, melons, &c. and the readiness with which the sales have been effected, has been a spur to their industry. Many of them also labor in this settlement all their spare time, besides attending to the cultivation of their farms.'

A word or two upon the climate and the health of the colonists. It is unnecessary to notice the rumors, which naturally enough have been circulated at different times upon these subjects, facts being much the best evidence which the case admits of. All these, and especially the fact, that the population of the Colony is now not far from two thousand five hundred, go to corroborate the statements universally made by those, who have had the best opportunities of observing the truth. These are not, indeed, unqualified. They admit that the climate is not favorable to the white man; that it is less favorable to emigrants from the Northern than the Southern States; that, comparatively, a considerable number of deaths have occurred in the case of three or four expeditions; and that sanitary precautions ought to be used by, and with emigrants of every class, for some time after their arrival. But these precautions have been precisely ascertained by experience, and at present it may be safely said, that nothing but discretion is necessary, to render emigration from America to Liberia as safe as that from England to the Canadas. Physicians, hospitals, and other accommodations have been provided; the proper season and comforts of transportation ascertained; and the necessity of undue confinement, exertion or exposure done away, by the prosperous condition and ample increase of the settlements. These were the causes of the occasional mortality just alluded to; and since they no longer exist, the proportion of deaths exhibited by official documents, is less than it is in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.*

* Letter of Captain Sherman.

For those who come from the North and the higher regions of the South and West, situations will hereafter be prepared at Caldwell, and other places in the interior, where the climate is not surpassed by any in the world. The *seasoning* these will still have to undergo will be mild. Emigrants from the Carolinas, Georgia, and certain parts of Virginia, escape it almost uniformly; as it is, not a man died of the one hundred and fifty-four carried out by the Indian Chief, from North Carolina, in 1826; only one aged and infirm female, of the one hundred and seven who left Baltimore in the *Doris*; and not one of the Randolph's passengers from South Carolina, the ninety-one re-captured Africans colonized by the General Government in 1829; nor lastly, but one, we believe, of the three hundred and forty-three who went out last December from Southampton county and other parts of Virginia. On the whole, the truth appears to be fairly stated in the very excellent letter of Captain Weaver, who visited the Colony in April, 1831. He says;

‘Nature seems to have ordained, that on a removal from a temperate clime to the torrid zone of Africa, in order to become acclimated, it is necessary, in most cases, to pass through the ordeal of fever. The friends of the Colony must not flinch from the question. Investigation will render that ordeal lighter. It is, I believe, a true assertion, that the natives of that part of the coast are uncommonly healthy,—*so are the acclimated emigrants!* In future, when emigrants are sent there from the interior of this country, I would earnestly recommend, that the detention on the sea-board, and at the mouth of the St. Paul's and Montserado rivers, should be as short as possible.’

Mr. Ashmun, several years since, expressed himself thus;

‘Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it. * * No situation of Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. * * The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, the natives of temperate latitudes can hardly imagine.’

We shall only add to these accounts another given by the colonists themselves, in their address to the colored people of this

country. They admit the facts we have mentioned, and then observe ;

‘ The true character of the African climate is not understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, and as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the Colony,—nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet existed in that part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one,—too great not to affect the health, more or less,—and in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the Colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to these times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable ; and for the last two or three years, not one person in fifty, from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate.’

We have said that the colonists, who are the best judges of their own situation, are satisfied, and many of them delighted with it. The proof is, that scarcely an individual among them has returned to America, or expressed a desire to do so, or to leave the Colony for any other place ; and that intelligent gentlemen of high respectability concur in statements upon this point, which were the result of their own observation. Captain Kennedy, of the United States frigate Java, who visited the Colony about a year since, gives his testimony as follows ;

‘ It may not be improper to observe in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under impressions very unfavorable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society ; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labors, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavorable to the Institution ;—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and weary conversations, endeavored to elicit

from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that,—disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society,—they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious that, while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers.’*

The following is Captain Abels’s short but satisfactory letter to the Secretary.

‘ Washington, February 10, 1832.

‘ Dear Sir:

‘ Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the Schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the Colony. On the 14th December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter.—Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect of the people, over their colored brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person*, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being

* See *Fifteenth Report*. We regret not being at liberty to publish more extracts from this long and very intelligent description of the Colony. Not the least of its recommendations is its manifest candor.

a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist churches, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place, where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of color in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment.

Very respectfully, sir, your friend and servant,
WILLIAM ABELS.'

Dr. Shane of Washington, who volunteered to go out with the New Orleans expedition, writes thus under date of February last.

'Cape Montserado itself is a most beautiful and commanding place, far surpassing the most favorable idea I had formed of it,—indeed I am greatly disappointed. I see not as fine and splendid mansions as in the United States, nor as extensive and richly stocked farms as the well-tilled lands of Ohio, but I here see a fine and very fertile country, inviting, as it were, its poor and oppressed sons to thrust in their sickle and gather up its fulness. I here see many who left the United States in straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them, enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty, where they can enjoy all the unalienable rights of man.—I was much surprised on visiting at least sixty people with Dr. Hall, to find them uniformly expressing their gratitude, in being released from the degradation they had so long labored under, and that they had at last found a place, where themselves and children could sit under their own vine and fig-tree, and none to make them afraid.'

Here we shall leave our remarks upon the new situation of the colonists, as compared with the old; and here properly concludes the argument, which the Colonization Society ad-

dresses to the slave-owners. Beginning with a disclaimer of any influence upon slavery but a moral one,—of any effect upon the slave but such as may follow from the free act of the master,—they do not conceal their opinion that the system itself is an evil, and even a great evil. But they deem it to be the misfortune and not the crime of the slave-holding States, and of the whole of our common country. They consider it a constitutional system. They acknowledge, that the power to control it lies only with the owners. But respecting as they do, both the rights and the reasoning of those who compose this class, they know that many of them, and they believe that many more, are, and will be even anxious to emancipate, under conditions which are thought indispensable to justify that act, and which heretofore have not existed. The circumstances involved in the conditions, the Society have provided; and they now solicit from the slave-owners, as from every other class of the community, a candid examination of the facts they are able to furnish. We doubt not, that such examination will be given. Nor have we the least apprehension of the result, as regards the Society and its patrons. Of the final result of the joint efforts of both, upon this country, or upon Africa,—neither of which subjects we have undertaken to discuss,—it needs only be said here, as it safely may be, that while a prospect exists of doing much good, there is a certainty of doing some. Set aside, absolutely, that part of our population,—the people of color *now* free,—to whose welfare the Society has devoted the greater share of its exertion, say nothing of the interest of that unfortunate class of men as regards this country, or the interest of this country as regards them,—indulge in no estimate that, ‘exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from such a Colony might defray all its expenses,’*—and far more, call it the dream of the enthusiast, that every portion of Africa may be civilized, that the slave-trade may be suppressed, that the American slave-system may be meliorated by this scheme, or by anything which may grow from it. Suppose, in a word, that the Society and the slave-owners do look to ‘motives of humanity’ alone, and that they look no farther than the colonist and the Colony itself are concerned. We envy not the feelings of the man, who doubts that the liberality and labor of both parties must

* Mr. Jefferson’s letter to Mr. Lynd.

be repaid a thousand fold into their own bosoms. We plead guilty ourselves of a sensation of pleasure, at even reading the simple description recently given by the Society's Western Agent, (Mr. Finley of Ohio) of the first expedition, which took place a few months since, of emigrants to Liberia from the valley of the Mississippi. The majority of them,—slaves of remarkably good character,—were manumitted for the purpose, including eleven, belonging to Mr. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who also sent with them a considerable sum of money to be expended for their benefit. Other valuable presents were made by the citizens of New Orleans.

'When,' says Mr. Finley, 'the vessel unloosed from her moorings to put to sea, she was visited by several friends and strangers, whom benevolence or curiosity attracted to witness the departure of the emigrants. They were very cheerful, smiling gaily at the prospect before them. A hymn was sung, in which the officers and crew, emigrants and visitors, mingled their voices in unfeigned solemnity. After which, the Rev. Mr. Donans made an affectionate and pertinent address, and invoked upon them the blessings of Almighty God. When we extended them the parting hand and bade them adieu forever, they seemed overcome by a sense of our kindness and burst into tears. Thus departed, accompanied by the sympathies and prayers of the patriot and Christian, the first expedition of emigrants to Liberia, from the valley of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans.'

Some of these were perhaps native Africans, all doubtless knew very well where they were going, and had they no joy in liberty, no gratitude, nor hope, nor human love? Heard they never by day, nor dreamed by night, of the golden-rivered land of the plantain? Or felt they less keenly than we should feel, the common desire of our race, to breathe away lingering life in the vales of our infancy, and to slumber in death with the bones of buried ancestors around us? Not such was the opinion of Mungo Park. 'The poor negro,' said he, 'feels this desire in its full force. No water is sweet to him, but what is drawn from his own well: and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade, as the tabba-tree of his own hamlet. When *war* compels him to leave the delightful spot where he first drew breath, and to seek safety in some other kingdom, the time is spent in talking of the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored, than he turns his back on the land of

strangers, hastens to rebuild his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village.*

And who can enjoy, more than the philanthropists of the West and South, this sweetest happiness of giving happiness to others? Who can tell better than they, what freedom is, and what the soul's yearning may be over the loss of that holy boon? God speed them in this god-like enterprise. God speed them to make a freeman of the slave and a citizen of the freeman, and to send him back to the shores of his own radiant and verdurous land. The skies shall smile upon them, and the soil shall be sacred soil. There let them lay the foundations of an empire, in silence and in peace. Ages hence, it may still stand, a light-house to the gloom of that desolate continent, and a monument of praise to this, immortal and beautiful as the stars. Even then, though their own proud Republic should live but in history, it may still be at least an asylum, where he that has wandered and wept from his childhood, shall again exult in the smoke of his village, and again

——— 'Shall drink at noon
The palm's rich nectar, and lie down at eve
In the green pastures of remembered days,
And walk,—to wander and to weep no more,—
On Congo's mountain-coast or Gambia's golden shore.'

ART. VIII.—*English Literature of the Nineteenth Century.*
American Library of Useful Knowledge.—Vols. II. III.
IV. Boston. 1832.

In any general survey of letters, the eye is arrested by certain points or epochs, at which some revolution seems to have been consummated, that wholly changes the face of things, and imparts a new character to the succeeding period, which it retains until again effaced by some similar convulsion. Such revolutions are of rarest occurrence, and most gradual development, in nations least distinguished by sensibility or imagination. Thus the Latin literature experienced scarcely any other modification, than the regular transition from primitive rudeness to its augustan polish, and thence by natural lapses to the different stages of decrepitude and decay. Nations, on

* Park's Travels in Africa.